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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No. 1, Jan-Feb 1984

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21 May 1984

USSR REPORT

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, published in Moscow by the Oriental Studies Institute and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

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ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 84 (signed to press 1 Feb 84) pp 221-222

[Text] Foreign Capital in African Economy, by V. K. Vigand

The article examines the changes in the foreign investment policy in Africa and assesses the latest inflow of private foreign capital and the repatriation of profits and dividends.

The analysis of data relating to the 1970's demonstrates that following a certain reduction in the volume of direct investments in the mid-1970's, their inflow has again shown an upward trend in the early 1980's. At the same time, the concentration of direct investments has become pronounced, first in the resource-rich African countries (oil-producing, except Libya) and secondly in such states as Morocco, Kenya, Ivory Coast and Cameroon, which enjoy an extensive domestic market and a favorable investment climate. The joint venture with state and local private capital participation is the main form of TNC activity in Africa.

The chronic deficit in the balance of trade of most African states impedes the repatriation of profits on direct investments and the reimbursement of private credit. In this context, official aid seems to be the main financial source used to bridge the gap between import and export payments and to secure the unhampered repatriation of profits on foreign capital.

Turkey: Some Conclusions and Specific Features of Capitalist Development, by P. P. Moiseyev and G. I. Starchenkov

The article deals with the transformations in the Turkish economic and social structure over the last 60 years. In the 1920's and 1930's Turkey took steps to promote capital entrepreneurship in leading industries, to protect them from foreign competition and to reinforce political and economic independence. Following the Second World War Turkey established a close military and economic alliance with Western countries. Contrary to the expectations of the ruling circles, this did not increase national economic potential but did exacerbate social and class contradictions.

The coup d'etat of 1960 brought about a number of positive changes in the political and social life of Turkey and permitted the acceleration of economic

progress. The 1960's were marked by a merger of financial and industrial capital, which led to the setting up of Turkish monopolies and the formation of the elements of a financial oligarchy. Within a period of 60 years Turkey evolved from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian and industrial state with a medium level of capitalist development.

Turkish capitalism, however, retains its dependent, "peripheral" nature. It is characterized by disproportions, pre-capitalist structures and dependence on TNC's. This type of capitalism suffers from political instability, which leads to regular coups d'etats staged by Turkish generals. The coups of 1960, 1971 and 1980 constitute an attempt on the part of army leaders to put in order the mechanism of national capitalist development, as the latter constantly gets out of hand. However, in the context of escalating social contradictions the reality of Turkey demands non-capitalist decisions to an ever increasing degree.

On the Policy of Leftist Democratic Governments in Kerala, by F. N. Yurlov

The article deals with the policy of the governments of the leftist democratic forces, including the Communists, in the state of Kerala from 1967 to 1981. These governments, formed on a broader social and class base than the first Communist government of 1957-59, turned out to be stable and, despite high odds, capable of implementing social and economic programs to the benefit of the laboring masses at large, even within the framework of the bourgeois structure of power.

All of the leftist democratic governments in Kerala were multiparty government coalitions, which comprised both leftist (Communists included) and bourgeois democratic parties. The latter uphold the interests of the national and, primarily, local bourgeoisie of the state.

The composition of the united fronts and their governments often varied for various reasons during the course of political development, as did the balance of forces between their elements. The participation of Communists, either of one or of both Communist parties operating in India, remained a constant feature of these governments.

Despite the difficulties experienced due to the coalition nature of these governments and the fact that the relations between them and the center were strained at times, these governments, on the whole, were successful in implementing a number of progressive social and economic measures to the benefit of laborers, particularly the lowest strata.

The fact that the leftist democratic governments have been in office promoted the further awakening of the well-to-do and the poor. Their activity showed that the active involvement of the broad masses in economic and political life is an important condition of the enhancing influence of the Left and of democratic forces, no matter whether they are in office or in the opposition.

Time, Space, Reality in African Myths and Fairy Tales, by V. B. Iordanskiy

The article examines the way in which ideas of time, space and personality, as represented in the myth, are transformed in the fairy tale. The article demonstrates that in the fairy tale the social consciousness tends to overcome the impact of the myth upon its outlook and rationalizes its perception of time, space and personality. The world of the fairy tale appears to be a bizarre combination of realistic details and fantastic images, human deeds and the intervention of mythological forces. This picture emerges on the basis of an undermined but nevertheless unshattered archaic consciousness. The fairy tale, the author underscores, constitutes a peculiar challenge to rational thought and is also its successor.

From the History of the Portuguese Penetration of Japan, by A. A. Iskenderov

The article investigates the relationship between Japan and European powers in the second half of the 16th century. Analyzing various interpretations of European expansion and the situation in Asia and Africa during the period under discussion, the article suggests that it was not by chance that the Portuguese came to Japan. It maintains that it was a premeditated and thoroughly prepared expansion aimed at colonizing the country.

To secure successful colonization the Portuguese had to learn the situation and to establish social backing in Japan. This task was assigned to Christian missionaries. The article goes into their activity, discussing the reasons for the rapid and widespread dissemination of Christianity, which were of an economic, political, social and religious nature.

The article highlights the policy of the Japanese ruling circles toward the missionaries, particularly that of Toyomi Hidayoshi, who realized in time the threat of Portuguese expansion and took measures to avert the colonization. Ferocious as they were, these measures, in his view, were not directed against Europeans or Christianity as such. They were supposed to oppose those who came to Japan to subjugate it to serve their own interests.

The fact that Japanese social development embarked upon its own peculiar path is largely accounted for by the victory it scored in this confrontation with the Portuguese.

Primitive Economy and Main Stages of Its Evolution, by Y. I. Semyonov

The term economy, as it is used in the article, implies a system of productive socioeconomic relations which, in the first place, is a social form of production and, secondly, is a basis of society. Two main stages are singled out in the evolution of the primitive economy. The phase of an early primitive community is characterized by the full ownership of all means of production and article of consumption by the collective. This kind of ownership may be called communalist. Accordingly, distribution was also communalist. The gist of this distribution lies in the fact that each person was entitled to a portion of the product created by the collective by virtue of his membership in it.

The evolution of the communalist relationship, in turn, could be divided into a taking-communalist stage and a sharing-communalist one. The sharing-communalist relationship had two main forms: a divide-sharing relationship and a give-sharing one. The transition to the second phase of the evolution of the primitive economy, that of the late primitive community, is characterized by the labor distribution (distribution according to labor) which evolved along with communalist distribution. Personal property and exchange among community members emerged along with labor-based distribution. All of this gave rise to a certain inequality in property holdings. In the process of development, labor distribution gained in importance at the expense of the communalist form. The phase of the late primitive community was followed by the stage of ante-class society--i.e., a stage of transition from the primitive society to the class society. This stage is characterized by the emergence of units of separate property within the community, representing rising peasant (proto-peasant) households. Accordingly, the primitive community evolved into a rising peasant (proto-peasant) community. The emergence of a peasant household and peasant community provided the soil upon which private property and exploitation came into existence.

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SOME RESULTS, FEATURES OF TURKEY'S CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 84 (signed to press 1 Feb 84) pp 15-23

[Article by P. P. Moiseyev and G. I. Starchenkov]

[Excerpt] There were several important and positive events in Turkish economics after the coup d'etat in 1960. The state played a more important role in the resolution of the most urgent socioeconomic problems; the country's leaders turned to planning as an important method of economic development and a program of industrialization was announced and began to be carried out; Turkey gave up its onesided reliance on the capitalist countries and began to establish economic and technical cooperation with the socialist world, primarily with the Soviet Union. All of this, combined with other positive factors (growing currency transfers from Turkish workers abroad and agricultural modernization), raised the accumulation norm considerably--from 10-12 percent of the GNP in the 1930's to 18-20 percent in the next two decades--and accelerated the country's economic progress. During the first (1963-1967), second (1968-1972) and third (1973-1977) 5-year plans, the GNP grew quite quickly--at an average rate of 6.9 percent a year,⁶ the proportions of the main sectors of physical production changed and the export structure evolved, with the products of national industry accounting for a higher percentage of these exports. Along with traditional industries (food, textile and tobacco), promising new industries were developed perceptibly (fuel and energy, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, chemicals and petrochemicals, the production of construction materials and, during the initial stage, even machine building).⁷ During the years of these 5-year plans the center of gravity in this development gradually moved from traditional economic sectors to modern and more effective ones, and the elements required for reproduction on a national basis were accumulated in the economic structure.

Under the influence of the rapid development of capitalism in urban and rural areas, Turkey's economic appearance changed considerably over the last two decades. It can rightfully be categorized as one of the agroindustrial capitalist countries in which capitalist methods (private and state) have taken the lead in all of the main industries and spheres of the economy in urban and rural areas. Traditional producers, still making up more than half of the working population, accounted for around 55 percent of the agricultural product and only 20 percent of the industrial product in 1980.⁸ In the 1960's the concentration and centralization of production and capital were accelerated

perceptibly and industrial and banking capital merged, giving rise to the first national monopolies and the beginnings of a financial oligarchy. Monopolies in Turkey come into being in the form of holding companies--companies controlling the stock portfolios of industrial and financial affiliates. The Turkish holding monopolies are distinguished by a clan structure. This is true of the monopolies of V. Koc, N. Ezagibasi, Ergian (Istanbul), S. Sabangi and Sapmaz (Adana), D. Yashar (Izmir), Baykar (Ankara), the business groups of Aker and Burla and others.⁹ Associations of combined national--private and state--and foreign capital have also made their appearance recently. These are governed by the organizational principles of Western firms and are trying to adopt their ultra-modern methods of appropriating superprofits.

The formation of the Turkish monopolies under the conditions of "peripheral" capitalism has displayed a number of distinctive features. First of all, the monopolist associations come into being not only and not so much under the influence of internal factors (the accumulation, concentration and centralization of production and capital), but generally in close connection with the activities of foreign financial monopolies, especially transnational corporations.¹⁰ Secondly, big private capital is trying to establish effective control over all enterprises and property in the state sector and to use this sector in its own interests. Thirdly, in Turkey, just as in several Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil and Mexico), it is not the monopolies that urged the state to engage in joint economic activity but, on the contrary, the state that paved the way for the birth and development of monopolies.¹¹ Finally, just as in many other developing countries, the process of monopolization is taking place in the modern sector, affecting only part of the country's industrial productive forces. This is why national monopolies are relatively few in number. According to the Turkish press, Turkey's economics and politics are determined by 300 industrial and trade companies and 5 banks. Furthermore, at the very top of the social pyramid there is a group of 10 giant monopolists appropriating a high percentage of national income.¹²

The birth of national monopolies will lead to the development of monopolist capitalism, and then state-monopolist capitalism, in the future. But it will take many years to reach this highest stage of capitalism. As the decisions of the TKP [Turkish Communist Party] Central Committee noted, "the mounting monopolization is revealing the characteristic tendencies of state-monopolist capitalism in Turkey. But it is obvious that this process is far from complete."¹³

The economic situation in Turkey changed perceptibly at the end of the 1970's. This was reflected primarily in the slower growth of the gross national product (GNP)--from 7.7 percent in 1976 to 4 percent in 1977 and 3 percent in 1978. In the next 2 years the GNP did not grow, but decreased--by 0.4 percent in 1979 and by 1.1 percent in 1980.¹⁴ The volume of industrial production decreased by 5.6 percent in 1979 and by 5.5 percent in 1980. Inflation exceeded 100 percent in 1980. Attempts to stimulate economic activity with the aid of foreign loans and credit increased the foreign debt from 7 billion dollars in 1975 to 20.9 billion in 1980.¹⁵ Whereas in the mid-1960's Turkey was among the most rapidly developing states in Asia and Africa, the situation was quite different by the late 1970's and early 1980's.

This was the result of the interaction of several internal and external factors. Furthermore, the influence of internal factors was particularly strong: Even in the "dependent," "peripheral" capitalist countries, the parameters of economic development ultimately depend, we are certain, on the internal dynamics of each country, and not only on "major outside stimuli of development."¹⁶ The main underlying reasons for Turkey's economic crisis consisted in the failure of ruling circles to institute the necessary socio-economic reforms--agrarian, tax and administrative--and other long-overdue changes. As a result, national development was impeded by remaining traces of feudal practices.

One of the main reasons for the country's economic troubles was the internal political instability that became particularly perceptible in the second half of the 1970's. By depriving private business of a sense of security, it became an almost tangible factor. The economic report compiled by experts from the Turkish Union of Chambers of Commerce and Stock Exchanges for 1981 says, for example, that "the economic crisis stems mainly from political instability, as anarchy and terror have threatened the inviolability of life and property."¹⁷

Permanent negative factors include the high level of military spending, accounting for up to 25 percent of all state expenditures. Turkey is becoming more and more involved in the arms race, and its territory is turning into an American bridgehead. Since the end of the 1970's American imperialism has been making a greater effort to attach Turkey more closely to the world capitalist economy and to involve it in imperialist politics. This was the purpose of the American-Turkish agreement on "cooperation in mutual defense," signed on 29 March 1980. This policy is supported by the Turkish "neo-compradors," who have grown stronger along with the national monopolies.

Of course, the influence of exogenous factors is also quite strong: Although capitalism in Turkey, as mentioned above, is the result of internal evolution, its development has been influenced strongly by external circumstances. For example, the cyclical crisis which began in the world capitalist economy in 1974, accompanied by structural energy and raw material crises, soon had a negative effect on Turkey, due to its involvement in international capitalist division of labor, and intensified the country's difficulties and conflicts.

It was in an atmosphere of acute socioeconomic tension that the rightwing bourgeois government of S. Demirel compiled and published a program of economic stabilization in January 1980. The anti-crisis measures envisaged in this program had the overall aim of instituting "free market" principles in the Turkish economy, observing the conditions of modern capitalist expanded reproduction and turning the Turkish economy into an integral part of the capitalist world. By the end of the 1970's, however, the economic crisis in the country evolved into a crisis in the power structure and in existing forms and methods of government. When the Demirel government was unable to find solutions acceptable to the ruling bourgeois class, a bourgeois-conservative army clique took the lead in politics, as it had in 1960 and 1971, to maintain the existing regime. As a result of the generals' coup d'etat on 12 September 1980 the military administration took charge of Turkish politics and economics.

The new cabinet of ministers, headed by B. Uluşu, declared its fundamental agreement with the economic policy of the overthrown government and its intention to carry out this government's plans. In particular, the military regime expressed its willingness to secure more favorable conditions for activity by foreign capital, stating that this would accelerate the transition from import-replacement industrialization to the export-expanding form and would raise the technical level of production.¹⁸

At the same time, the leaders of the 1980 military coup--National Security Council Chairman K. Evren and his associates--have tried to portray their economic policy as the implementation of K. Ataturk's ideas about the alleged special patterns of Turkish socioeconomic development and the absence of antagonistic classes in the Turkish society. For example, in November 1981 K. Evren announced that the country should not be influenced by the principles of socialist or capitalist economic management, but should adhere to its own development model. In a discussion of the origins of his ideological views, he stressed that the main thing now is to find economic solutions within the framework of the principles once put forth by K. Ataturk.¹⁹

While the military regime was solving immediate economic problems, it was able to neutralize the highly negative effects of internal and external factors within a relatively short period of time and to bring about a noticeable improvement in the economic situation by 1981 after obtaining new foreign credit, deferring payments on old loans and also, what is most important, prohibiting strikes in the country and freezing wages. Industrial volume grew, the rate of inflation fell by more than half (from 107 percent in 1980 to 35 percent in 1981) and sources of foreign income were diversified. On the basis of these accomplishments, some Turkish economists predicted that the most severe phase of the crisis had already been surmounted.²⁰ The dynamics of the GNP in recent years can be judged from the data in the table. These data testify that after the ruinous crisis of 1978-1980 the Turkish economy gradually began to acquire some balance.

Dynamics of Turkish GNP (% of previous year)

<u>Sectors</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
Industry	10.3	12.9	3.7	-5.6	-5.5	7.6	5.2
Agriculture	7.7	-1.2	2.4	2.8	1.7	0.4	6.5
Services	5.6	4.3	3.2	0.2	-0.2	4.4	--
Total	7.6	4.0	3.0	-0.4	-1.1	4.3	4.4

Source: "İktisadi rapor 1981," p 6; BRIEFING, 4 January 1982, p 20; CUMHURİYET, 31 December 1982.

The military regime's main methods of economic stabilization included the following.

First of all, Turkey was able to alleviate some of its monetary problems. In addition to the new credit obtained from the West and the deferment of old

debts, the increase in currency transferred to the country by Turkish workers abroad played an important role (from 1.7 billion dollars in 1979 to 2.1 billion the next year and 2.5 billion in 1981).²¹

After a new law was passed in January 1980 to encourage direct foreign investments and the balance of foreign payments had displayed relative improvement, private foreign capital showed much more interest in Turkey. For example, whereas the capital investments of foreign firms in the Turkish economy totaled 30 million dollars in 1973-1979, the figure for 1980 alone was 33 million, and in 1981 it was already 180 million dollars.²²

More mixed enterprises, in which foreign capital participated along with local capital--private and state, began to be established.

In addition, Turkey was able to expand trade with the Islamic states, primarily dealing simultaneously with the warring Iran and Iraq. The Islamic states were responsible for the dramatic increase of industrial goods in total Turkish exports--from 36 percent in 1980 to 48.7 percent in 1981 and 61 percent in 1982,²³ and this stimulated the growth of national industry.

It must be said that the current balance in the Turkish economy is quite relative (in 1982 the rate of inflation was still 35 percent, commodity prices continued to rise and the exchange rate of the lira declined) and transitory. Long-term factors, such as the narrow base of internal accumulation, the shortage of local energy resources and the mounting burden of foreign debts, still have an impact. The disparities in the Turkish economy are being intensified by signs of crisis in the capitalist world.

During the years of the republic the social structure of the Turkish society has also undergone significant changes as a result of capitalist development. These changes have also affected the composition of the politically dominant population group. Whereas just a quarter of a century ago the country was governed by a bourgeois-landowner bloc, now virtually all real political and economic power belongs to the bourgeoisie. The composition of this class has grown more complex. Whereas it was once dominated by the trade and banking bourgeoisie, now strata evolving as a result of the development of physical production--the industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie--have come to the fore. The landowning class, representing pre-capitalist structures, is leaving the political stage: Most of it has turned into an agrarian bourgeoisie, and the negligible remnants of this once powerful class, concentrated in the country's eastern regions, are gradually merging, in economics and politics, with the bourgeois class. What is important is not only the involvement of landowners in market relations, but also the move of many landowners to cities, where they engage in trade and politics and even become industrial entrepreneurs--as the owners or stockholders of factories and plants. There are now around 38,000 families of large landowners in the country (0.2 percent of the working population), but they own one-fourth of all private land holdings.

Another representative of the contemporary class of rural exploiters is the wealthy peasant (or kulak), who grew stronger during the peasantry's stratification and polarization. On the average, he owns between 10 and 50 hectares.

Wealthy peasants own up to 30 percent of all private farmland, which they cultivate by exploiting the labor of hired workers and the traditional "family workers"; wealthy peasants make extensive use of modern agricultural equipment and often lease this equipment to small peasant farms during seasons of intensive field work. The exploitative rural elite (landowners and kulaks who have now become entrepreneurs) represents no more than 10-12 percent of the rural population but controls up to 60 percent of all cultivated land in the country. A TUSIAD [Union of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen] report on this matter says that "Turkey is one of the countries with the most unfavorable distribution of land and, consequently, of rural income. There are regions where 40-50 rural communities belong to a single family or a single individual. More than half of the peasants in several locations have no land.... One out of every five farmers works someone else's land and has no interest in preserving its fertility."²⁴

The number of workers employed on the basis of capitalist hiring principles is rising on landowners' farms, and the figure is rising even more dramatically on kulak farms. As a result of the polarization of rural laborers and their migration to cities, however, the growth of the agricultural proletariat has been relatively slow: In 1950 it numbered 450,000, and the figure in 1980 was around 1 million.²⁵

Many rural inhabitants are peasants working in small-scale, patriarchal work structures (they are generally categorized as middle rural strata). But even these peasants are being drawn into market relations. The middle strata also include rural craftsmen and artisans, whose numbers have been decreasing in recent decades.

Rural areas in Turkey, just as in many other developing countries, are distinguished by a process of pauperization, stemming from a number of causes. Above all, this occurred when peasants were driven off their land (between 1950 and 1980 more than 500,000 peasant families lost their holdings).²⁶ The fragmentation of family holdings as a result of inheritance is also having this effect. Rural inhabitants who are crowded out of the traditional order cannot establish a functional connection with the modern order due to the insufficient expansion of employment spheres and therefore turn into rural paupers and lumpenproletarians. Some Turkish authors believe that agrarian overpopulation has now affected around half of the working population.²⁷

The development of capitalism has also brought about important social changes in the cities, primarily as a result of cooperation with foreign capital. In Turkey, as mentioned above, an influential substratum has taken shape--a monopolist "neo-comprador" bourgeoisie--and is acquiring all sorts of advantages from business contacts with Western monopolies. By their income and the "prestigious" nature of their consumption patterns, the "neo-compradors" are set off from bourgeois strata whose activity is confined to national boundaries. The creation of a large state sector was accompanied by the birth of the influential substratum of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Renowned Turkish sociologist I. Gem made the following statement in this connection: "Turkey is a country with bureaucratic traditions where bureaucratism is uncommonly strong."²⁸

During the period of industrialization another economically powerfully stratum of the capitalist class also took shape--the industrial bourgeoisie. Together with the commercial bourgeoisie, it began to push bureaucrats into secondary positions.

The army has entered the political arena several times in the history of the Republic of Turkey, and this has had important social implications as well as political ones.

After Turkey joined NATO, representatives of the Turkish Army supreme command began to acquire a military education or undergo training in the West, primarily in the United States, which accustomed the army elite to Western ways of thinking and a Western standard of living. But the Westernization of the officer corps, recruited mainly from the middle strata, was much less intense. Currents with petty bourgeois programs and with the aim of "making things easier for the people" and restraining high-handed businessmen frequently sprang up among the middle officer ranks. This had a perceptible effect on the first coup d'etat in 1960, which represented an attempt by the ideologists of middle strata to limit the omnipotence of big "neo-comprador" capital. Although the 1961 constitution banned the Turkish Communist Party, it gave the laboring public several important rights and freedoms.

The army's behavior after the first coup d'etat frightened the grand bourgeoisie, and it began to seek a rapprochement with the military command. The next year, a joint-stock "Army Mutual Assistance Society" (OYK) was established with the participation of Turkey's leading entrepreneurs (V. Koc, K. Tashkent and others). It began to collect money from the high and middle command, and later from noncommissioned officers, and invest these funds in production, developing business in industry, construction and trade. The capital of the OYK increased quickly from 8.5 million lira at the time of its establishment to 3.5 billion in 1974. Its capital now totals several times this amount.²⁹ This military-monopolist association established business contacts with industrial and banking capital in Turkey and with Western transnational corporations. The involvement of the officer corps in business activity naturally affected the nature of the army. The 1971 and 1980 coups were organized with the knowledge of the United States³⁰ to preserve the existing system and to serve the collective interests of the entire capitalist class; the activities of the military command have been approved and supported by local big business and imperialist states in the West.

The growth of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by the formation of a working class. The members of this class came from several sources. For a long time, rural migrants constituted the majority of its new members, and it was not until recently that the majority were the direct result of reproduction--second generation workers.

One important structural feature of the Turkish proletariat is that most of its new members are workers from the "tertiary sector." Industry is known to require relatively well-trained manpower. Rural migrants lacking the necessary skills therefore have to find jobs in the service sphere, where simple unskilled labor is employed. As a result of this, the number of workers hired

in industry in 1980 was almost half the number hired in the "tertiary sector" (1.8 million and 3 million respectively).³¹

Finally, another feature of the Turkish proletariat is the high percentage of laborers working outside the country: In 1982 there were more than 900,000 Turkish workers abroad. They come back to Turkey after several years in Western Europe with a semi-Westernized way of life, Western standards of consumption and so forth, and this distinguishes them from the rest of the working class.

Although the classes, strata and substrata of the capitalist society in Turkey have not attained their final form as yet (more than half of the population belongs to middle strata, transitional groups and extrastructural social categories),³² this process has reached a stage at which the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are the main classes in urban and rural areas. The transformation of old classes and the formation of new ones have led to the regrouping of class forces and to the heightened social mobility of the urban and rural populations.

Working class ranks are gradually being consolidated. At the end of the 1970's--that is, at a time of mounting difficulties in the country--when the bourgeoisie tried to save its profits by reducing the wages of workers, the latter responded, in spite of their lack of organizational unity and of unified leadership, with massive strikes. Whereas the duration of worker strikes in 1979 totaled 1.1 million man-days, the figure was already 7.7 million at the end of the first 8 months of 1980.³³ The military regime spearheaded its repression precisely against the working class and its organizations and against progressive associations of the intelligentsia.³⁴

When we sum up the results of Turkey's socioeconomic development over the past 60 years, we naturally conclude that the prevailing tendency in social progress was the continuous development, in spite of various obstacles and negative factors, of capitalist relations, promoting a transition from the feudal method of production to the capitalist one. Now Turkish capitalism, even though it is of the "dependent," "peripheral" type, has reached its formative stage and bourgeois relations and standards are now predominant in the economy, in politics and in culture.³⁵

The results of Turkey's socioeconomic development would seem to show young states what they can gain from the capitalist transformation of traditional structures. On the one hand, there has been indisputable progress in laying the foundations for the reproduction of the economy on a national basis and in raising the country's cultural level. Nevertheless, the "peripheral" type of capitalism which is developing in Turkey has kept this country from achieving stable economic development and from using this as a basis for the attainment of cardinal domestic (full employment and a higher standard of living) and foreign (an equitable status in international division of labor and total economic independence) objectives. After all, the processes of modernization--that is, the processes by which traditional structures are elevated to meet the standards of present-day capitalism--are accompanied by huge "social outlays" for the population, particularly as a result of the huge gap between

patterns of production and employment. As a result, much of the population has not derived any appreciable benefits from capitalist modernization. The realities of Turkey are making the need for non-capitalist solutions to these problems increasingly urgent.

FOOTNOTES

6. "Economic Report," Ankara, 1982, p 25.
7. For more detail, see "Turkey. Distinctive Features of Its Economic Development" in "Problemy razvitiya stran sovremennogo Blizhnego i Srednego Vostoka" [Development Problems of Present-Day Near and Middle Eastern Countries], Moscow, 1981, pp 117-126.
8. For a description of computation methods, see "Ekonomicheskoye razvitiye sovremennoy Turtsii" [Contemporary Turkish Economic Development], Moscow, 1983, pp 51-57.
9. URUN, 1978, No 49, p 76.
10. The Turkish representative at an international seminar on capitalist modernization noted in his speech that Turkey is experiencing "the birth of structures characteristic of state-monopolist capitalism, but with dependence continuing to play a definite role." See PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1982, No 7, p 82.
11. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1982, No 1, p 57.
12. DURUM, 1 October 1982, pp 11-12.
13. "Turkiye Komunist Partisi Merkez Komitesi plenumu" [Turkish Communist Party Central Committee Plenum], No 1, 1980, p 17.
14. BRIEFING (Ankara), 4 January 1982, p 20.
15. "Iktisadi rapor 1981" [Economic Report for 1981], Ankara, 1981, p 258; "Economic Report 1982," p 39.
16. "Razvivayushchiesya strany: zakonomernosti, tendentsii, perspektivy" [The Developing Countries: Natural Trends, Tendencies and Prospects], Moscow, 1974, p 23.
17. "Iktisadi rapor 1981," p 1.
18. "Turkey 1982. Almanac," Ankara, 1982, p 45.
19. DURUM, 1 December 1981, p 7.
20. YANKI, 27 December 1982--2 January 1983, p 27.

21. "İktisadi rapor 1982," p 203.
22. "Economic Report 1982," p 74.
23. "İktisadi rapor 1982," p 183; CUMHURİYET, 31 December 1982.
24. M. Sonmez, "Türkiye ekonomisinde bunalım. 1980 sonbaharından 1982 ye. 2. kitap" [Crisis in the Turkish Economy: From Fall 1980 to 1982. Bk 2], İstanbul, 1982, pp 203-204. TUSİAD is an alliance of Turkish industrialists and businessmen uniting representatives of big industrial, trade and banking capital.
25. Our estimates are based on Turkish state statistics. See, in particular, "Türkiye istatistik sep yilligi" [Pocket Statistical Almanac for Turkey], Ankara, 1982, p 73.
26. "Turkey. The Social Structure of Society" in "Problemy razvitiya stran sovremennogo Blizhnego and Srednego Vostoka," p 134.
27. See, for example, C. O. Tutengil, "Kırsal Türkiye'nin yapısı ve sorunları" [The Structure and Problems of Rural Turkey], İstanbul, 1975, p 135.
28. I. Gem, "Türkiye'nin geri kalmışlığın tarihi" [The History of Turkey's Underdevelopment], İstanbul, 1973, p 550.
29. N. G. Kireyev, "Razvitiye kapitalizma v Turtsii. K kritike teorii 'smeshannoy ekonomiki'" [The Development of Capitalism in Turkey. Criticism of the Theory of the "Mixed Economy"], Moscow, 1982, p 173; Yu. N. Rozaliyev, "Ekonomicheskaya istoriya Turetskoy Respubliki" [The Economic History of the Republic of Turkey], Moscow, 1980, p 259.
30. The 1980 coup d'etat, for example, was carried out immediately upon the Turkish Air Force commander's return from the United States and during NATO combat maneuvers on Turkish territory.
31. Calculated according to "Türkiye istatistik cep yilligi," p 73.
32. G. I. Starchenkov, "Trudovyye resursy Turtsii. Demograficheskiy, ekonomicheskiy i sotsialnyy aspekty" [Turkish Labor Resources. Demographic, Economic and Social Aspects], Moscow, 1981, p 180.
33. "Turkey 1982. Almanac," p 214.
34. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALİZMA, 1983, No 4, p 22.
35. In this connection, we feel it would be pointless to debate the historical prospects of the capitalist order in the developing countries--that is, the possibility of its evolution in these countries from an order to a method of production. The examples of India, Turkey and Malaysia, not to mention a number of Latin American states, provide conclusive proof that this possibility has already become a reality.

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CONFERENCE HELD ON ISLAMIC SOCIAL, POLITICAL THOUGHT

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[Report by Z. I. Levin and I. M. Smilyanskaya on 1982 Islamic Studies lectures in memory of Ye. A. Belyayev: "Islam and the Social Development Problems of Arab Countries"]

[Text] The second set of lectures on Islamic studies (1982), organized by the Department of Arab Countries of the Oriental Studies Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences, in memory of Ye. A. Belyayev, dealt with the subject "Islam and the Social Development Problems of Arab Countries." They were attended by researchers from scientific establishments and higher academic institutions in Moscow, Leningrad, Baku, Tbilisi, Kazan and other cities.

The heightened political significance of the "Islamic factor" in the 1970's and 1980's stimulated Soviet Islamic studies. More people are researching this subject matter and they are concentrating mainly on contemporary Islamic sociopolitical issues. This subject matter was elucidated in reports presented at meetings of two sections: "Islam and Socialist Ideals in the Arab Countries" and "Traditional and Contemporary Interpretations of the Socioeconomic and Political Precepts of Islam." Several reports dealt with Ye. A. Belyayev's services as the educator of several generations of Soviet Islamic scholars and the initiator of investigations of the social roots of Islam.

The section on "Islam and Socialist Ideals in the Arab Countries": As we know, one of the phenomena of sociopolitical thinking in the Arab countries is the attempt to combine the social precepts of the Islamic doctrine with socialist ideals. This phenomenon came into being when nationalist-democratic ideologists were seeking more effective development models for the period of the establishment and consolidation of the national state, and when national leaders and middle strata grew disillusioned with Western development models. Ideologists turned to the idealized nationalist tradition, in which Islam plays an important role, and to socialism, as the opposite of monopolist capitalism. The Soviet Union's experience in building socialism and the example set by the flourishing republics of the Soviet East motivated Islamic ideologists to associate their social theories with scientific socialism. Only a few of these ideologists have turned to Islam for the sake of scientific socialism, however, while the majority do not accept scientific socialism and distort socialist ideas in their doctrine.

Concepts of "Islamic socialism" were categorized in a report by L. R. Polonskaya (Moscow). The concept of "Islamic socialism" as a whole, the speaker said, represents one variety of what is called nationalist socialism and is used for the political mobilization of the masses by bourgeois and petty bourgeois leaders. Petty bourgeois theories have had the greatest influence on contemporary social life in the Muslim countries. The ideas of "Islamic socialism" generally reflect the combination of anti-imperialist, democratic and sometimes even anticapitalist tendencies with anticommunist, reactionary trends. According to the speaker, concepts of "Islamic socialism" are of three basic types: In one, the elements of petty bourgeois democracy are combined with bourgeois liberalism; in another the views of vacillating petty bourgeois strata and the struggle between revolutionary-democratic and liberal-bourgeois tendencies are reflected more fully; the third reflects the interests of social strata connected with pre-bourgeois traditions, clothed in Islamic guise. The political significance of these concepts depends on the specific conditions in each country. The job of "translating Marxism" into the language of the Muslim foreign East, L. R. Polonskaya said, cannot be performed without consideration for the radical tendencies inherent in the mass Muslim political ideology.

R. Ya. Aliyev (Baku) stressed in a report on "The Sociopolitical Development of the PDRY and Islam," describing the Yemeni Socialist Party's attitude toward Islam, that this party, which has openly declared its adherence to scientific socialism, has taken Islam's influence on the way of life and the thinking of the people into account and has shown respect for the religious beliefs of the masses. In the foreign policy context, the PDRY government regards Islam as one of the main means of establishing closer ties with other Arab states. At present, however, the resolution of sociopolitical problems is not associated with religious doctrine.

N. I. Voronchanina (Moscow) spoke of the activity of fundamentalists in Tunisia, which became particularly apparent in the 1960's and 1970's. Opposing Bourguiba's pro-Western socioeconomic policy, eager acceptance of Western culture and "disregard for the precepts of Islam," the supporters of the religious movement demanded that the state be reorganized in accordance with the social precepts of early Islam. The revitalization of the Islamic movement "from the bottom up," among urban and primarily petty bourgeois strata, intellectuals and students, and the emerging danger of the use of religious formulas as an alternative to "Destourian socialism," along with the increasing political importance of the "Islamic factor" in the international arena, forced Tunisian ruling circles to take its influence into account in their domestic and foreign policy.

The reports by T. B. Gasanov (Baku) and Ye. P. Pir-Budagova (Moscow) discussed the attitude of Iraqi and Syrian Baathists toward Islam. The speakers showed that the Baath Party regards Islam as the spiritual heritage of the Arabs, which must be taken into account. The synthesis of nationalism with some elements of traditional Islamic values in Baath policy is used to mobilize the masses for the implementation of party social and political programs. In a report on "Islam and the Ideology of Present-Day Libya," A. V. Malashenko (Moscow) analyzed the basic premises of M. Qadhafi's "third world theory" as a

development theory. He said that Islam has had a tremendous effect on the ideology of the Libyan revolution from the very beginning. National self-awareness here is growing out of Islamic religious values. N. S. Luts kaya (Moscow) examined the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism's attitude toward Islam and the Arab Muslim heritage. The party, she stressed, has taken Islam's tremendous influence on the masses into account and does not believe that the social precepts of Islam contradict the goals of socialism. The party charter interprets the liberating purpose of Islamic principles and underscores the party's loyalty to the Arab Islamic civilization and the progressive heritage of Arab Islamic thought. L. P. Zudina (Moscow) spoke of Islam's place in the socioeconomic program of the Moroccan Government.

The section on "Traditional and Contemporary Interpretations of the Socio-economic Precepts of Islam": The study of the ideology of Islamic socialists raises certain questions for researchers--Which features of the Islamic heritage allow for the inclusion of contemporary socialist ideas in the Islamic doctrine? To what degree was the cultural heritage reinterpreted and the essence of scientific socialism changed during the process by which these ideas were assimilated? According to the organizers of these lectures, an analysis of the socially and politically oriented categories of Islamic culture, making up the doctrine of "Islamic socialism," such as equality and inequality, justice, labor, power and forms of communality, can aid in the study of these matters. These concepts have entered Islamic doctrine as beliefs about the eternal social equality of Muslims, about social justice and labor-related ownership, about the right of the masses to rebel against tyrannical authority, etc. These matters were discussed in reports presented in this section.

The belief in the eternal equality of members of the Muslim community, which is deeply ingrained in the Muslim mind, makes the study of the social division reflected in the Koran quite pertinent. This was the subject of Ye. A. Rezvan's (Leningrad) report on "The Koran's Interpretation of Social Stratification (The Term 'darajat')." Ye. A. Rezvan chose "darajat" (originally signifying "part of the way," "ladder" or "step") from among the terms used in the Koran to, in his opinion, signify levels of social stratification and the means by which "the prophet transmitted his beliefs about the hierarchical nature of society and the world in general." This term has several meanings in the Koran, but it is usually connected with the measurement of social levels in terms of nobility, freedom and dependence, corresponding to the divisions in the pre-class society, but since nobility is associated with wealth in the Koran, the speaker felt that this term could reflect the social-property principle of stratification. The term was also used in the Koran to denote hierarchical levels in the afterworld, corresponding to the map of this world, but with the difference that Muslims in the next world will be ranked according to their degree of faith. In this way, the property principle of stratification was supplemented by an ideological principle, and it is this principle, according to the speaker, that is the deciding one in today's Muslim community. Since this term had no social overtones in the pre-Islamic society, we can assume that the Koran reflected a reinterpretation of the term, attesting to the society's acknowledgement of its social hierarchy. The idealization of social relations in the early Muslim community, which was already reflected in the Hadith of the 8th century, engendered the idea of the community as a society of equals.

Ye. A. Rezvan's report was followed by a debate. N. O. Osmanov and V. V. Naumkin (both from Moscow) did not agree with Ye. A. Rezvan's interpretation of the Koranic term "darajat." Defending his views, the speaker stressed that his interpretation agreed with the meaning of other terms also including the idea of social stratification (including "makam" and "makan"). The relationship between the time of an event and its interpretation by society was discussed during the debates. In this connection, A. B. Kovel'man (Moscow) remarked that the society's realization of new relationships (reflected in the birth of a new term or the reinterpretation of an old one) can be quite delayed.

One of the fundamental premises of "Islamic socialism" is the thesis of the social justice inherent in Islam. As we know, the concept of "justice" now represents a category of moral-legal and sociopolitical consciousness, but the meaning of this term has undergone a historical evolution which has been virtually ignored in studies of Eastern cultures. An understanding of the meaning of the term in Islam could promote examinations of its meaning in the Middle Eastern cultures prior to the birth of Islam. This was the subject of V. A. Yakobson's report on "The Idea of Justice in Ancient Mesopotamia" and I. Sh. Shifman's report on "The Biblical Interpretation of the Concepts of 'Truth' and 'Justice'" (both speakers from Leningrad). V. A. Yakobson said that there were two terms corresponding to the concept of justice in the Accadian language: "kittum"--"correctness," "the administration of justice" and "correspondence to the norm"--and "misharum"--"correction," "justice" and "righteousness." Abiding by "kittum" and "misharum" meant the preservation of order and the prevention of infractions; this function, according to the society's beliefs, was a royal prerogative. In ancient Mesopotamia both of these terms were personified and deified (for example, "Kittum" was considered to be the daughter of Shamash, the god of the sun and the great judge of all the gods). The social aspect of the term "misharum" was quite clear in royal decrees protecting the weak, returning sold family lands to their previous owners, abolishing interest on loans and canceling tax debts. According to the speaker, these misharum-decrees testified that the royal authority retained the features of the tribal chief. V. A. Yakobson said that this concept underwent a similar evolution in the Indo-European languages.

According to I. Sh. Shifman, at least two terms were also used in the Bible to denote "truth" and "justice": "emet" ("fact" and "accuracy") and "tsedek" ("correctness," "precision," "living the right kind of life" and "a system of behavior corresponding to accepted standards"). Justice, according to the beliefs of that era, was an attribute of governmental power and state judicial functions. The speaker cited texts to demonstrate the connection between the term "tsedek" and the concept of "justice." The term "tsedek" could also mean "righteous" and reflected the ethical beliefs of the era. The ethical import of the term "tsedek" was more apparent during the period of intensified sociopolitical struggle and the development of the prophet's movement: According to the prophets, the prevalence of evil in the world was a result of the violation of Jehovah's laws by society and its members. Comparing the ancient and biblical ideas about justice, A. Sh. Shifman noted that the ancient belief was based on a rational, "natural" interpretation and was socially determined, while the biblical belief, corresponding to the principle of the individual's personal responsibility to God for his own actions, had a religious basis.

"Truth" and "justice" in the prophet's movement, the speaker concluded, signified an appeal for the observance of certain moral standards that were supposed to guarantee the stability of society.

In a report on "The Meanings of the Terms 'Kist,' 'Adl' and Their Derivatives in the Koran," S. Kh. Kyamilev (Moscow) analyzed the etymology of terms conveying the idea of justice in the Koran: "muksit" (literally "striving for justice," but later "bestowing justice" or "just"--one of Allah's epithets) and "adl" ("correctness," "justice" and "lack of bias") or "adil" ("just" and "unbiased"). The speaker said that "muksit" is a derivative of "kist"--"share" or "part," and the verb with the same root, "kasata," originally meant "division into customary shares," corresponding to the principle of the division of goods in the pre-class society. In the Koran the "striving for justice"--"muksit"--literally meant "division into shares stipulated by Allah." The term "adl" derives from the concepts of "equalizing" or "balancing"; in combination with "kist"--"share"--it signified "equalizing shares." "Adil"--"just" in the Koran--is one of Allah's epithets, as justice signified the observance of divine standards. In conclusion, S. Kh. Kyamilev stressed that the analysis of the etymology of these terms provides conclusive corroboration of the scientific thesis that Muhammad gave new meaning to terms known in the pre-Islamic society.

Ways of transmitting the cultural heritage were questioned during the discussion of the reports. A. B. Kovel'man pointed out the dependence of the transmission of cultural values on the social and political climate of the recipient society. The continuity of the cultural heritage was the subject of a report by M. S. Meyer (Moscow). He noted the similar interpretations of the concept of "justice" in the medieval Muslim society and the ancient Middle Eastern cultures. Ottoman political thought, in his opinion, included the Turkic-Mongol heritage, in which "justice" signified the observance of laws--"tiure," a continuation of Byzantine concepts, and was influenced by the combination of ancient Middle Eastern beliefs and the Muslim Arab-Persian tradition. Members of the Ottoman dominant class associated justice with the absolute authority of a just monarch, as justice was interpreted as the ruler's obligation to prevent the oppression of the people and the brutal treatment of the weak by the strong and to guarantee peace and security. In contrast to classic Muslim tradition, the Ottoman political concept was based on the premise that justice--that is, the ruler's total lack of bias--could be practiced if the ruler was not bound by the precepts of the Shari'at, and this is the reason why the sultan's decrees were considered to be equal to the Shari'at. These ideas, M. S. Meyer believes, were implemented. According to M. S. Meyer, the coinciding ideological beliefs and practices, just as in ancient times, were made possible by the similarity of sociopolitical processes and the solid tradition of government intervention in economic affairs.

Therefore, we can conclude that the concept of "justice" underwent a lengthy period of evolution in the cultures of the Middle East. It was originally a complex concept whose meaning was conveyed by several terms. The social overtones of this concept have been retained in the heritage of the pre-class society. Its religious and ethical import grew stronger as class relations developed and monotheism was established. In the Middle Ages the concept of

"justice" acquired terminological and semantic stability (the term "adl" was designated as the correct one in Arabic), and it acquired a more precise political meaning, corresponding more and more to the concept of "judicial administration." This meaning designated it as an attribute of governmental power throughout the history of the Middle Eastern societies. We can be fairly certain that the contemporary idea of Islamic social justice is the result of the reinterpretation of traditional terms under the influence of European socialist ideas. The term "justice" as an ethical concept does not appear to have been employed in the Middle Ages. The concept of "piety," including the demand for the performance of "pious deeds," gained prominence among ethical values. Piety and pious deeds were the subject of N. N. Tumanovich's (Leningrad) report on "Socially Significant Islamic Precepts in Herat (16th-18th Centuries)."

Early Islamic precepts in the sphere of economics and their subsequent development were discussed in a report on "Economic Beliefs in Medieval Arab Social Thought" by F. M. Atsamba (Moscow). The examination of Islamic categories as economic subject matter is justified by the close connection between economic concepts and legal, religious and ethical standards at the beginning of Islam's history. Furthermore, these economic concepts were essentially of a normative nature. They were first developed as rules and standards of behavior corresponding to the need to regulate economic practices. Even when the social sciences came into being, economic concepts engendered within the framework of these sciences had some of the features of religious recommendations for subsequent generations. F. M. Atsamba said that the socioeconomic precepts of the Koran and Hadith corresponded to the interests of economic and political life and to the ideological need for stronger monotheism. They were based on an acknowledgement of the divine origins of all earthly phenomena, including social and property inequality. When the Koran said that the land belonged to God, this did not mean that each person had a right to use this land. F. M. Atsamba recalled that Muhammad excluded land from the category of military spoils and bestowed it upon his followers. She also pointed out the fact that the criticism of wealth and the wealthy in the Koran did not have a religious or ethical basis and that the prophet's daily life evinced his concern about the inviolability of private property. These economic ideas underwent further evolution within the framework of the Muslim jurisprudence of the Caliphate era. The concern of jurists of the 8th and 9th centuries to regulate land transactions testified to their recognition of private ownership of the land. Labor was recognized as a means of acquiring real estate: This belief was expressed in connection with the establishment of the law of ownership of revitalized land. The acme of Arab medieval economic thought was the socioeconomic theory of Ibn-Haldun (14th century), in which social life was regarded as collective productive activity, the thesis of social division of labor was developed, the concepts of the necessary and surplus product and of necessary and surplus labor were employed, the doctrine of the labor-related basis of value was proposed, etc. Although F. M. Atsamba believes that Ibn-Haldun "came close to discussing the problem of exploitation," his views did not indicate any "belief in the exploitative nature of large-scale ownership" or, we should add, apologies for small-scale labor-related ownership. In a discussion of the views of Ash-Sharani (16th century), the speaker said that the appraisal of property and labor according to value prevailed in Sufi tradition.

During the discussion of F. M. Atsamba's report, M. S. Meyer cited Ottoman material as evidence that beliefs about the state and society were an organic part of medieval Muslim economic theories. The prosperity and power of the state, according to these ideas, depended on the growth of state income, with taxes as the source of this income. Therefore, the head of the state had to concern himself with the prosperity of producers. In turn, the society, according to Ottoman doctrine, could function without upheavals only if each member stayed in a particular stratum. This is how the belief in the need for class barriers for the sake of economic and social order entered Islamic socio-economic doctrine in the Ottoman era. The concern for the well-being of the laborer and taxpayer in medieval Islamic theory was a constant element of a practical doctrine, and not a utopian philosophy, and this stemmed from the centralized nature of the distribution of the social product.

The interpretation of Islamic precepts in the economic sphere was examined by A. I. Ionova (Moscow) in a report on "The Contemporary Muslim Interpretation of Problems of Ownership" and by R. M. Sharipova (Moscow) in the report on "The Economic Theories of Islamic League Ideologists." Some light was also shed on these matters by E. E. Nadzhin (Moscow) in a report on "The Drafting of the 'New Islamic Economic Order' by International Muslim Theological Organizations." A. I. Ionova illustrated her conclusions with examples from contemporary Muslim countries in Southeast Asia. According to the speaker, the problem of private property in the Islamic world (its interpretation as legal or illegal) is connected with the examination of its derivation: through labor, through the combined participation of the worker and employer, or with a view to the "organizational labor" of the employer. The vague and contradictory provisions of Muslim law leave a great deal of room for differing interpretations of legal and ethical precepts regarding property and thereby give rise to different currents in Islamic economic thought. The speaker analyzed factors determining contemporary views on property. In the early bourgeois society, according to A. I. Ionova, there was a reformist reinterpretation of Shari'at precepts interfering with entrepreneurial activity, criticism of feudal possessions and foreign capital was motivated by religious convictions and ethics, and there were "apologies for the virtues promoting labor and entrepreneurial activity." All of this laid the foundation for antifeudal and anticolonial criticism of large-scale private property. During subsequent stages of bourgeois development under the conditions of national independence, there were many popular theories about the "Islamic economy" as an answer to society's need to overcome underdevelopment and the negative consequences of dependence on the centers of world capitalism. The question of ownership began to be examined in light of the accumulation of capital and the role of hired labor. As society approached the choice of a development model, differences between Muslim bourgeois and radical petty bourgeois interpretations of big capital grew more pronounced. A. I. Ionova noted that liberal thinkers of the 1960's adopted the premises of West European bourgeois economic theory. In the 1970's economic questions were interpreted primarily in Islamic terms with a religious legal and ethical foundation; now economists of various schools are growing disillusioned with the attempts to validate contemporary economic development with Islamic precepts.

R. M. Sharipova concentrated on the views of Islamic League ideologists, who were instrumental in the drafting of economic doctrines of "Islamic solidarity."

These doctrines, the speaker said, reflected the league's desire to secure the economic independence of Muslim countries. R. M. Sharipova noted that the ideologists' view of private property was colored by their political outlook. Their statements in defense of private ownership of the means of production were related to attacks on the socialist system. Nevertheless, they also criticized some aspects of bourgeois economic theory, including the belief that competition is an important factor in economic progress and that private property is inviolable. They recognized the possibility of its limitation and declared the need to "perform definite social duties connected with the possession of property." R. M. Sharipova concluded from her study of these views that "the capitalist model of economic development is now the most preferable for them."

We can conclude, therefore, that contemporary Islamic economists are trying to validate current models of social development by means of a free interpretation of the premises of early Islam or references to the practice of government interference in the economic affairs of Muslim societies at the beginning of the new era. In essence, its development is being impeded by the dogmatic manipulation of archaic tradition, in which economic ideas are not separated from religious, legal and ethical standards. It is understandable that Muslim ideologists are having doubts about the productivity of this line of economic analysis.

Some reports dealt with the political precepts of Islam. One complex and far from speculative issue is the balance of secular and spiritual authority in the politico-theological theories and political practices of the Muslim state. As we know, Islam draws no theoretical distinctions between these spheres of authority, and this is the basis of the Islamic theocratic ideal. Theocracy (in the broad sense in which the term is used in our literature) can take many forms, and the theocratic ideal is also interpreted in many different ways in the Muslim society.

In a report on "The Relationship of Religious Leaders to Sultans in the History of Islam," M. B. Piotrovskiy (Leningrad) examined the ideological roots of various interpretations of the theocratic ideal in the Muslim society. The speaker believed that two ancient beliefs about authority were combined in Arab public opinion of the Koranic period: the "sacramental" belief, in accordance with which the leader of the community is the instrument of divine will, and the "communal" belief, signifying that divine will is manifested through the community, which invests an individual or a group with authority. Muhammad's authority reflected both beliefs because he was a direct instrument of divine will and simultaneously performed many of the functions of the clan leaders, sacramentalizing them. These two concepts of authority, according to M. B. Piotrovskiy, took various forms and were present in various currents of political and religious thought: During the era of the Caliphate, the "sacramental" belief was reflected in doctrines stating that relatives of the prophet could mediate between earth and heaven (particularly the Abbasid and Shiite doctrines) and in the Mahdist movements. The "communal" concept of authority prevailed in Sunnism and Harijism. When the Caliphate collapsed and a struggle was waged against the seizure of secular power by sultans, the "communal" concept was sacramentalized through the idea of "Allah's caliph" (in place of the original "prophet's caliph"). In turn, the "concealment" of the imam in

Shiite Islam strengthened the "communal" element. Both concepts presupposed the indivisibility of secular and spiritual authority. Reality, however, undermined this unity. During the post-colonial era, when the Muslim world was rebuilt according to European patterns, religion was separated from politics. Even then, the speaker said, the tradition of the Islamic political ideal was retained in a different form: Charismatic leaders took the place of Shiite imams and the Mahdi in the emotions of the masses, and the ideologists of Islamic socialism are promoting the "communal" concept of authority, calling it true Islamic democracy. At the present time, M. B. Piotrovskiy continued, the Islamic revival has included attempts to restore the unity of secular and spiritual authority: The Islamization of politics and the politicization of religious movements are taking place within the framework of "communal" theory. This indicates the influence of the doctrine of Western democracy. But the cult of Khomeini in Iran and the rise of extremist organizations with Mahdist ideas in the Muslim Brotherhood movement testify to the stronger influence of the "sacramental" doctrine. The speaker concluded by suggesting that the history of the Muslim society has been distinguished by the constant "convergence and divergence" of the concepts of "politics" and "religion," although the most common tendency has been their "divergence." The speaker reinforced this last conclusion with a terminological analysis of two series of concepts reflecting the secular and spiritual principles of authority: sultan-mulk-hukm-amr-daul and din-hudz-shari'a-kada.

In a report on "The Ruler and the Community in Ibn-Hanbal's 'Musnad,'" D. V. Yermakov (Leningrad) analyzed the views of the founder of Hanbalite Sunnism on the Muslim community's relations with its leader. Collating the Hadith on this subject, D. V. Yermakov concluded that they either describe the status of the ruler--"the vice-regent (caliph) of Allah's messenger"--and the sanctification of his authority by Allah, discuss the ruler's possible sins--oppressing the Muslims or causing them to doubt their faith--and his punishment by Allah on Judgment Day, or specify forms of Muslim behavior toward the supreme authority, coinciding with the position of ibn Hanbal himself and his followers (violence against the ruler is prohibited for the sake of communal unity, "telling the truth" about an unjust ruler is raised to the status of jihad, and it is recommended that people take care "not to get too close to the sultan and thus get too far away from Allah"). Therefore, one of the influential schools of jurisprudence permitted varying forms of behavior by the Muslim in relations with the supreme authority and acknowledged the legality of passive resistance if the ruler were unjust.

The report on "The Imamate in Shiism" by V. M. Mamedaliyev and R. I. Ismailov (both from Baku) described an experimental study of the Shiite interpretation (in the tradition of the 16th-18th centuries) of supreme authority. On the assumption that the imam was not originally deified in Shiism but that Ali's right to the caliphate was established, the speakers suggested that Jafar al-Sadiq (8th century) was the first to collate Shiite teachings about the infallibility of the imams and about imams as bearers of the divine light. The speakers believed that the unrealized principle of unified spiritual and secular authority after Ali's rule helped to engender the Shiite myth that when Mahdi arrives in the world and when genuine theocracy and the way of life of the first Muslims have been established, all of the Shiite imams will return

to the world to exercise their secular and spiritual authority. During debates following the report, S. M. Prozorov (Leningrad) questioned the validity of the theory that Jafar al-Sadiq was the founder of Shiite theology and recalled that attempts had been made to deify Ali even in his lifetime. The difficulty of elaborating a scientific theory of Shiism and the shortage of information about the influence of pre-Islamic Iranian beliefs on Shiite theology were mentioned during the discussion.

Some reports dealt with channels of communication between Muslim ideologists and the masses. For example, in a report on "Some Sociopolitical Opinions Reflected in Iranian Sufi Poetry of the 10th and 11th Centuries," L. Yu. Asatiani (Tbilisi) discussed the significance of poetic words in the spread of Sufi beliefs among the Iranian masses.

As we know, the jihad plays an important role among the ideological imperatives capable of mobilizing the Muslim masses. But the evolution of the jihad doctrine has not been researched thoroughly in Soviet literature. Some aspects of this topic were elucidated in a report by A. V. Sagadeyev (Moscow) on "The Evolution of the 'Jihad' Concept," in which he criticized the stereotype of "militant Islam" in the public mind and even in scholarly research. The speaker recalled that jihad (literally, "struggle"; implying "struggle for the faith") does not mean "holy war" and did not originally presuppose military actions. The term carried various meanings, but since jihad took on the nature of a war in Arabia, it began to be regarded as a war for the faith. The term "jihad" also meant armed struggle during the era of the anticolonial movement. Contemporary appeals for a jihad for peaceful purposes signify the restoration of the term's multiple meanings.

The report on "Umma, the Nation and Arab Nationalism" by Z. I. Levin (Moscow) contained an analysis of the interrelations of Islamic doctrine and Arab nationalism. As the speaker pointed out, Arab nationalism came into being in the form of a purely secular ideology among Arab educators who were mainly Christian; nationalist concepts regarding Islam as an important element of the national makeup arose in Muslim circles. "The disillusionment of politically active forces," Z. I. Levin stressed, "with Western models of political struggle, the inclusion of the middle strata in the national liberation movement and the West's anti-Arab position on the Palestinian question during the period between the two world wars motivated nationalists to focus on Islam as a combination of national traditions and a means of influencing the masses." In the postwar period this became the dominant trend, according to the speaker, although the ideologists of pan-Arabism have different ideas about the relationship of Islam to nationalist ideals in Arab nationalism. This ideological phenomenon laid the basis for cooperation (within certain limits) between Arab nationalists and Muslim theologians. Ye. A. Rezvan disagreed with Z. I. Levin's theory about the original opposition of the two meanings of the term "umma"--the Muslim community and the ethnic community. Rezvan believes that in the Koran the term "umma" carried several meanings: "faith" and "religion," as well as "ethnic group" or, more precisely, a "group with the same religious beliefs." The term's ethnic connotations contributed to its evolution into a term signifying "nation." T. Ibragim (Moscow) agreed with the original multiple meanings of the term "umma," stressing that it was more typical for Arab

nationalists to use the terms "kaum" and "kaumiya" in order to distinguish the concepts of "nation" and "national" from the more religious concept of the "umma." According to T. Ibragim, the balance of Islamic and nationalist elements in Arab nationalism depends almost completely on political goals, and not on doctrinal precepts.

At the conclusion of the gathering, A. G. Lundin (Leningrad) presented a report on "The Development of Arab Unity in Ancient Arabia," in which he proposed a new approach to the origins of Islam. He believes that the approach based on analyses of the crisis in the tribal order in 6th-century Arabia is invalid because this crisis broke out long before this time and had already led to the formation of the first separate states in Arabia in the 5th century B.C. The speaker pointed out the fact that all of Arabia was divided up into Arab states from the 4th through the 6th centuries. In his opinion, Mecca and Medina represented a class society at the beginning of the 7th century, but this society did not have its own organs of public administration, and this was why both cities were part of the Hassanide state. A crisis in the power structure became apparent in Arabia in the middle of the 6th century, followed by the successive collapse of existing states. This resulted in a power vacuum in Central Arabia, and the answer to this problem was Islam, which became the ideological basis of the class order. Without disputing the main thesis of this report, T. Ibragim mentioned the need for stronger arguments to corroborate the existence of this vacuum.

Therefore, precise definitions of the subject matter, analyses of the different stages in the evolution of Islamic categories making up the doctrine of "Islamic socialism" (and, in the broader context, the "Islamic social order") and the examination of historical and cultural analogues of these Islamic categories allowed the speakers to shed new light on the original meaning of these categories and to consider the implications of their reinterpretation by contemporary ideologists.

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NIGERIA HOSTS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GREAT-POWER POLICY IN AFRICA

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 84 (signed to press 1 Feb 84) pp 121-122

[Report by S. A. Slipchenko on international conference on "Africa and the Great Powers" in Nigeria on 1-4 June 1983]

[Text] The conference held in Nigeria from 1 to 4 June 1983 was organized by the University of Ife. The conference was attended by representatives of scientific establishments in the organizing country and USSR and African scholars from universities in the United States, Great Britain, France, the FRG, Canada and other countries.

The attempts of some representatives of NATO countries, especially the United States, to lead the discussion away from the main topic were unsuccessful: Views were exchanged on ways of protecting mankind against nuclear catastrophe, and regional and other problems of the continent were discussed largely in connection with the problem of keeping the peace.

In his report on "USSR Policy in Africa," S. A. Slipchenko (Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences) said that the research conducted at the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences suggests that foreign policy factors are having an increasing effect on the development of the newly liberated countries of the continent. The role of politics in international economic relations has acquired greater importance. Science is acquiring an increasingly international character. Professor Aluko (University of Ife) reported on "The Problem of Security in Africa and the Great Powers," stressing that the penetration of the African continent by "cold war" and the involvement of the African countries in the arms race are having a negative effect on their socioeconomic development. New York University Professor Joan Herzovich presented a report entitled "A Historical Overview of Nigerian-American Relations." The speaker tried to demonstrate the allegedly identical or similar American and Nigerian views with an anti-Soviet basis. The discussion of this report led to heated arguments: As a result, Soviet policy was commended and the policy line of American imperialism was resolutely condemned. Other attempts were also made to justify Washington's policy in Africa. Professor Ade Adefue from the University of Lagos concluded in his report that U.S. ruling circles base their policy in Africa on the hope of preventing the triumph of national liberation forces and the spread of progressive ideas.

The African policy of the great powers, just as that of the mid-level states (medium-range powers, as the Nigerians called them), was examined at the conference from various standpoints. Professor Olajude Aluko (University of Ife) believes that the process by which national armies were established and the mounting armed resistance of anticolonial liberation forces lay at the basis of the involvement of the great powers in the resolution of continental security problems. Arms transfers and the training of command personnel were undertaken by the great powers and their allies, and this helped to strengthen their influence within the African countries. Drawing no distinctions between the policies of imperialist and socialist countries, Aluko believes that the involvement of the great powers in the resolution of continental security problems has a number of negative implications, taking the form of 1) military and state coups; 2) the internationalization of African conflicts; 3) the inception of conflicts between great powers and African countries; 4) the inability of the OAU to resolve many conflicts on the continent.

The issue raised by O. Aluko was analyzed with a view to several specific crises. Conference participants agreed that the main crisis in Africa is the one which has taken shape in the south as a result of the unresolved Namibian problem and the aggressive behavior of the apartheid regime and the foreign imperialist forces supporting it. This was the topic of M. Ojo's report on "Southern Africa and the Great Powers," L. Abegunrin's report on "Namibia and the Great Powers" and the previously mentioned report by A. Adefue. M. Ojo (University of Lagos) argued conclusively that the Soviet Union has neither economic nor any other interests in southern Africa, has not concluded any agreements with the Republic of South Africa and, in contrast to the Western states, has not invested capital in its economy. The USSR is in favor of total decolonization, to free the continent from racism and apartheid. M. Ojo criticized the policy of the United States, England and France in southern Africa.

Both M. Ojo and L. Abegunrin and other Nigerian scholars who joined in the debates condemned the Reagan Administration for "linking" the resolution of the Namibian problem with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and for showing favoritism toward South Africa and revealed the roots of the imperialist powers' "vital interest" in maintaining the apartheid regime; Pretoria's aggressive actions against the "front-line states" were pointedly criticized.

The Washington administration's interest in satisfying the nationalist ambitions of the Barre regime and in turning Somalia into a zone of Pentagon strategic interests was revealed during the discussion of the conflict that broke out in the Horn of Africa as a result of Somali aggression against Ethiopia. The attempt to take an "equidistant" stance on the policy of the great powers in Africa put several scholars in a false and difficult position (Professor Kola Olufemi from the University of Ife).

Nigerian scholars were quite concerned about the penetration of the African economy by transnational corporations. Western scholars essentially defended the concept of the "equal partnership," although in camouflaged form. The Nigerians underscored the discriminatory nature of economic contacts between the developed countries of the capitalist world and Africa.

Nigerian relations with the great powers and with other developed countries were the subject of a number of reports, particularly "Nigeria and the USSR," "Nigeria and the United States," "Oil and Nigerian Relations with the Great Powers from the Standpoint of Oil Diplomacy," "Nigerian-Japanese Trade Relations" and others. The report by O. Ojo (University of Port Harcourt) dealt with Soviet-Nigerian relations and was distinguished by a glaring lack of objectivity. It was criticized even by other Nigerians. According to Ola-Oni (University of Ife), this report represented "an excessively free interpretation" of the actual relations between Nigeria and the Soviet Union. As Ola-Oni stressed, the USSR bases its relations with Africa, particularly with Nigeria, on the common objectives of the anti-imperialist struggle and is giving the national liberation movement, in which Nigeria is active, selfless help. Citing specific examples, Ola-Oni commended the USSR's contribution to the independent development of the African countries.

The policy of the United States and England in their relations with Lagos was assessed in a report by A. Adebayo (University of Ife), entitled "Nigerian Oil--Diplomatic Weapon or Means of Survival?" The speaker unequivocally concluded that the "oil weapon" has turned out to be largely ineffective.

The basic positions of Nigerian government circles and the Nigerian academic community and the views of spokesmen for the academic communities of the Western capitalist powers and socialist countries with regard to the present and future political and socioeconomic development of Africa were expressed during the conference. The analysis of internal processes and external factors within the context of the policy of the great powers and other developed countries in Europe, Asia and America revealed varying points of view on the current problems and needs of the African continent.

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CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF ASIAN, AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN 'SCHOLARLY NOTES,'
'ANTHOLOGIES' OF UNIVERSITIES, PEDAGOGICAL INSTITUTES (1977-1981)

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1 Feb 84) pp 133-144

[Article by A. S. Silin]

[Excerpts] This brief bibliographic review is the continuation of a previous review of works on the contemporary history of Asian and African countries, published in the "Scholarly Notes" and "Anthologies" of universities and pedagogical institutes in 1971-1976.¹ Just as during that period, now VUZ instructors specializing in the history of Asian and African countries are concentrating on contemporary issues. This is attested to by the number of publications on this subject matter, which far exceeds the number of publications dealing with modern history.²

In this review we will classify publications according to the following subjects: 1) international relations and inter-imperialist conflicts in Asia and Africa; 2) the struggle of the Asian and African people against colonialism and the policy of neocolonialism; 3) the problems of motives and hegemony in the national liberation movement and the orientation of developing countries; 4) economic, cultural, national and ethnic relations; 5) the science of history and the study of historical sources. Obviously, this system of classification is highly conditional: Some publications deal with two or even three of these subjects.

Works dealing with international relations and inter-imperialist conflicts in Asia and Africa made up the largest group. Among these, the principal topic was the struggle of imperialist powers in the Middle East for their strategic positions, sources of oil and political influence in this region.

An article by A. O. Nazhestkin⁶ traces the establishment and amendment of international law regulating the Black Sea straits, from the discussion of this matter at the Paris peace conference of 1919 to the Soviet Government's proposals of August 1946 regarding changes in regulations adopted in 1936 in Montreux. An article by V. A. Shakhbazov⁷ examines Turkish policy toward Cyprus in 1960-1965 and discusses the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, its constitution and the disputes which arose between two communities--the Greek and Turkish Cypriots--and culminated in the division of the island in 1964.

Ye. A. Koppel⁸ describes U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf countries in the 1970's. He demonstrates how the energy crisis heightened the importance of Middle East oil to American imperialism and complicated the use of accumulated foreign currency by oil-producing states. In connection with this, the author describes the attempts by Washington ruling circles to secure the "recirculation" of petrodollars in their own economy. O. V. Pirumova⁹ describes the French-Italian rapprochement of 1933-1935, which became an important factor in international relations at that time. The author explains the change in the foreign policy plans of both states as a reaction to Hitler's rise to power and the intensification of Germany's expansionist policy. As a result of this rapprochement, the two countries signed a treaty (in January 1935) which gave Fascist Italy the opportunity to invade Ethiopia. S. I. Nikolayev¹⁰ concentrates on the use of the "Halstein Doctrine" by the FRG Government in its relations with African countries in the 1950's and 1960's. In line with this doctrine, FRG leaders threatened to break off diplomatic and economic relations with African countries recognizing the GDR de facto or de jure. The author reveals the reasons for the crisis and failure of this policy at the beginning of the 1970's. Through the prism of French participation in the activities of the aggressive SEATO military-political bloc, P. P. Cherkasov¹¹ traces the evolution of Franco-American relations in Southeast Asia in 1954-1974, which led to the birth of one of the intricate groups of U.S.-French conflicts in this region. Along with the conflicts in Europe and the Middle East, this eventually caused France to stop its participation in SEATO activities.

T. G. Giyasov¹² describes the diplomatic and political actions begun by the Indian Government in February 1964, in response to the U.S. plans to deploy the Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean, and lasting until 1974, when the United States and England began to build air and naval bases on the island of Diego Garcia. The author recalls the Indian Government's protests against the buildup of American military potential in the Indian Ocean and India's proposal that this ocean be turned into a zone of peace. Three related articles by V. M. Kostikov¹³ deal with various aspects of the Pakistani-Indian armed conflict of 1971. A work by V. Asman¹⁴ includes a brief review of relations between India and Bangladesh, from the declaration of Bangladesh independence in March 1971 to the military coup of 15 August 1975.

Some works deal with the struggle of the Asian and African countries against colonialism and neocolonialism and against the policy of imperialist powers in the colonies.

A report by V. G. Tsogoyev²⁶ contains a concise explanation of Curzon's aggressive policy toward Iran in 1919-1921 and Soviet Russia's support of the Iranian people's national liberation struggle, which was the deciding factor in the failure of English imperialism's colonial plans in the Middle East at that time. Yu. K. Barskov²⁷ describes the roundtable conference convened in London by the British Government at the end of 1931 so that a new law on Burma's administration could be drafted by representatives of various Indian and Burmese political groups. Later England used the conference resolutions to pursue its own colonial policy of separating Burma from India and imposing a typically colonial constitution on the Burmese people.

M. F. Yur'yev describes in his article²⁸ how the military policy of Chinese Communists was elaborated in the 1920's and 1930's through the joint efforts of the Comintern and CCP. Extensive documented material and the memoirs of eyewitnesses serve as the basis for A. V. Pantsov's²⁹ description of the long and complex process by which the support bases of the Eighth National Revolutionary Army were set up in the rear of Japanese forces in 1937-1940. O. V. Golubev³⁰ presents a detailed description of the establishment and development of the new Fourth Army in Central China during the 1938-1941 period.

Fascist Germany's preparations in 1933-1939 for the seizure of the African colonies lost as a result of defeats in World War I are discussed in a report by S. I. Nikolayev.³¹ The author describes the forms and methods of the penetration of Tanganyika, Cameroon, Togo and Southwest Africa by German capital and by Nazi agents, the creation of support points there, etc. V. F. Kolomiytsev³² explains French imperialism's motives for consenting to the creation of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and granting independence to more than 10 of its other colonies in Africa in 1958-1960. D. S. M. Koroma³³ describes the active support the Organization of African Unity gave the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique in their fight for independence in 1963-1975. The author concludes that this activity also had a great positive impact on the OAU, making it more effective and dynamic.

Several publications deal with the national liberation struggle of Asian and African people, domestic politics and the orientation of the developing countries.

I. M. Lebedev and Ya. Ya. Ayudzhanov³⁸ criticize non-Marxist theories about the development patterns of Afro-Asian countries. The article by the former includes a brief discussion of the works of representatives of "Indian socialism"--A. Datta and S. Patel--and a representative of "African socialism"--L. Senghor. Ya. Ya. Ayudzhanov reveals the specific conditions contributing to the popularity of various non-Marxist theories, essentially representing searches for a so-called "third way," in the developing Asian and African countries.

Eight works dealt with the socioeconomic status of Afro-Asian countries and with some aspects of national and ethnic relations.

Articles by D. Ismailov and T. S. Sattarov³⁹ discuss the development of the oil industry in Iran and in the Arab countries in the 1960's and 1970's. The former describes the expanded activity of the National Iranian Oil Company during that period, which strengthened the influence of the shah's government and turned the country into a major supplier of oil in the world market. The second article examines the steps taken in several countries of the Arab East for the effective use of petrodollars and notes that the problem was solved most successfully in Algeria, Iraq and Libya.

A. A. Shevchenko⁴⁰ describes the prerequisites for Egypt's move to an "open door" policy, including the emergence of the "new elite" and the augmentation of its role in socioeconomic and political life, the gradual restriction and liquidation of the state sector with the simultaneous growth of the private

sector, etc. The author also mentions such negative effects of the "open door" policy as the much larger foreign trade deficit, higher unemployment and more intense emigration by workers and specialists. Urbanization in Southeast Asia is the topic of an article by I. A. Zevelev.⁴¹ The author discusses levels and types of urbanization and reveals the common features and peculiarities of this process in countries of the region, providing a better understanding of the nature of ongoing changes in these countries and a more accurate basis for the assessment of economic development prospects.

An important domestic issue in the People's Republic of the Congo is the subject of a work by S. A. Pilipenko,⁴⁴ which contains a brief review of the political events of the 1960's and 1970's in which the ethnic factor played an important role. The social roots and sources of the current ethnic situation are examined. The use of ethnic difficulties by political circles made the ethnic factor an important consideration in party politics and in socio-political planning.

The science of history and the study of historical sources pertaining to the contemporary history of Asian and African countries are also of interest to VUZ instructors. The content of works by Soviet historians about German policy in the Middle East in the 1920's and 1930's is described in an article by D. A. Makeyev.⁴⁶ In addition to pointing out certain achievements in the study of this topic, the author also mentions the aspects of Germany's Middle East policy which were not reflected in Soviet historical literature. V. N. Shevelev⁴⁷ discusses the successes of the diverse and extremely significant Soviet historical studies of problems in the development of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, particularly the choice of the non-capitalist development pattern and sociopolitical orientation and questions connected with ideology and cultural development. An article by V. N. Grak⁴⁸ includes a concise analysis of French sources and literature on the struggle of the imperialist powers in the Middle East during the initial stages of World War II. In particular, he elucidates the contents of the five-volume collection of documents of the French delegation representing the Vichy regime on the German armistice commission, as well as the proceedings of the trials of Vichy Generals Daintz and Benoist-Mechin and a great variety of memoirs (the memoirs of de Gaulle, R. Massigli, A. Fabre-Luce and others).

A report by L. P. Levolkina⁴⁹ contains a brief survey of West German bourgeois literature of the 1950's and 1960's on FRG relations with developing countries in the Middle East and Africa. The author underscores the attempts of leading political scientists in the FRG to take an extremely cautious approach to all aspects of the West German state's relations with developing countries and to carefully camouflage the neocolonial aims of this policy. V. N. Korolev⁵⁰ examines the "special position" taken by the Tunisian Government in the conflict between the Arab states and the FRG on the basis of the speeches and press releases of Habib Bourguiba, the leader of the ruling Destourian Socialist Party and the president of Tunisia. This conflict broke out in 1965 in connection with the Erhard government's (CDU/CSU) shipments of weapons to Israel, which caused 10 Arab countries to break off diplomatic relations with Bonn. Tunisia refused to follow this example and thereby set itself in opposition to the Arab national liberation movement. The author

substantiates the importance of studying the Tunisian position by demonstrating that this provides a better understanding of the nature and causes of vacillation and inconsistency in the anti-imperialist struggle of several other states of the Arab East and Africa.

V. I. Tyurin⁵² analyzes articles which dealt with the "green revolution" in Pakistan and which were published in the late 1960's and the first half of the 1970's in THE PAKISTAN DEVELOPMENT REVIEW, the organ of the Pakistan Institute of Economic Development. The author notes that these articles indicate the reasons for the stagnation of agricultural production in the past and the factors which made it possible to surmount this stagnation and to effect the relatively rapid development of productive forces in this sector. Besides this, the research papers published in the journal provide a clearer understanding of the deep-seated processes occurring in the Pakistani countryside on the eve of the "green revolution" and of some of its direct results.

An article by V. M. Serov⁵⁵ contains a review of the journalistic works of renowned Soviet Orientalist K. A. Kharnskiy, printed in scientific anthologies, journals and newspapers published in Chita, Khabarovsk and Vladivostok between 1917 and 1930. In these works, K. A. Kharnskiy, a renowned expert on Chinese and Japanese affairs, expressed his views on various domestic political issues and the state of the economies of these countries, their foreign policy and the national liberation movement in Asia, particularly the revolution of 1925-1927 in China. A list of 75 extant works by K. A. Kharnskiy, published in Soviet press organs dealing with Far Eastern affairs, is appended to the article.

P. I. Klayman⁵⁶ analyzes the sometimes contradictory views of a number of prominent bourgeois researchers and political figures in the United States (including Z. Brzezinski, E. O. Reischauer and G. Ball) on problems in Japanese-Chinese relations in the 1960's and the first half of the 1970's. The author concludes that, in spite of certain serious disagreements, none of them have concealed the interest of U.S. ruling circles in the continued convergence of Japan and China.

N. A. An⁵⁷ has attempted to analyze and summarize the basic fields of Soviet historical studies of the DPRK. The author examines the contents of Soviet works on two basic periods of Korean contemporary history: from 1917 to 1945 and from 1945 to the present. After noting the achievements of Soviet scholars of Korean affairs, N. A. An lists the topics which he feels have not been given enough attention to date.

In spite of certain shortcomings (mainly the tendency toward petty concerns, the low scientific level of some publications and gaps in research subject matter), in general there are indisputable signs of progress in the scientific investigations of history department instructors of the contemporary history of Asian and African countries.

FOOTNOTES

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BOOK ON THAILAND REVIEWED AS FIRST TO STUDY ASIAN ELECTIONS

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[Review by A. M. Salmin of book "Parlamentarizm v Tailande (Opyt issledovaniya politicheskogo razvitiya sovremennogo vostochnogo obshchestva metodom analiza statistiki parlamentskikh vyborov)" [Parliamentarianism in Thailand (An Experiment in Studying the Political Development of the Contemporary Eastern Society by Analyzing Parliamentary Election Statistics)] by A. B. Zubov, Moscow, Glav. red. vost. lit-ry isd-va Nauka, 1982, 362 pages]

[Text] The study of the political culture with the aid of analyses of the results of general elections has long been a major trend in the sociology of politics in Western countries. Supplemented and clarified by the data of public opinion polls, electoral statistics provide a basis for the fairly detailed study of changes in the political outlook of the entire population and of specific groups. In contrast to the West, in the Eastern countries electoral studies did not exist for a long time, and there are still too few of them. There are certain reasons for this. The Eastern experience in parliamentary democracy is quite diverse. Some states have stable systems of elected representatives. Here elections have been held regularly for many decades and have been a truly important element of political life rather than merely a formal procedure. These states neighbor on countries where representative government is unstable and quickly gives way to military or civilian authoritarian regimes, and on countries where parliamentary and oligarchic forms of government alternate. In the East there are examples of high and low levels of public participation in politics and of autonomous--that is, motivated by internal convictions--and mobilized--that is, compulsory--forms of political behavior. The results of elections in Eastern countries are frequently falsified, although there are also many examples of irreproachably conducted election campaigns.

It is this diversity and indefiniteness, and not some kind of basic defect common to all experiments with elected representation, that are most probably the reasons for the quite pervasive lack of trust in election results in the East and in the developing world in general as a source of sociological information. Nevertheless, there are no fundamental, methodological objections to this kind of research, and if it could be proved that election statistics reflect, even if only in isolated cases, some kind of steady trends or long-range tendencies in the development of the population's political outlook, and not the haphazard

and incidental choices of politically illiterate masses, this would serve as an additional argument in favor of the usefulness of, and even the necessity for, electoral studies in Orientology.¹

The subject of this review is the first book in our domestic Orientological literature to be based on the analysis of information pertaining to elections. Employing primarily electoral statistics, as well as the findings of the few public opinion polls conducted to date, the author tries to explain "how Thai views have changed with regard to innovations which came into being after the June events of 1932,² such as the constitutional parliamentary structure, the related multiparty system and the practice of elections in legislative establishments. It is this reflection of the parliamentary system in public opinion that is termed parliamentarianism in this work" (p 5).

The choice of Thailand as the subject of the first electoral study in our Orientology appears completely logical. The dramatic events of the 1970's--the so-called "student revolution" of 14 October 1973, which had the external appearance of a continuation of the Western wave of youth demonstrations of the 1960's and early 1970's that had begun to die out in the West, the counter-coup of 6 October 1976 and the new coup of 20 October 1977--made Thailand the object of universal interest and moved this Southeast Asian country--perhaps for the first time in its history--to the foreground of world politics. Three times within a relatively short period--in 1975, 1976 and 1979--parliamentary elections were held in Thailand without, according to the common acknowledgement of all parties participating in them, any manipulation of election results.³

In the broader context, Thailand is one of the few Eastern countries in which parliamentary institutions of the Western type were not inherited from colonizers, as was the case in India, for example, but came into being "of their own accord," as a result of the internal development of a society revealing an ability to revitalize institutions destroyed after each successive coup.

The author concentrates on four campaigns for general parliamentary elections (15 December 1957, 10 February 1969, 26 January 1975 and 4 April 1976), which were conducted under normal conditions. The election data for 22 April 1979, which had not been published in full at the time when the work on the monograph was completed, are cited to illustrate the development of trends first witnessed in 1975-1976 under the conditions of the regime established in the country after 1977 by Prime Minister Kriangsak Chamanan. Electoral statistics are more than just a reference source in A. B. Zubov's work. In view of the fact that "the use of electoral information obtained in the developing countries is still problematic, an attempt has been made in this work to use Thailand as an example to verify the possibility of employing these statistics and testing some methods of their processing and analysis. Therefore, electoral statistics are as much an object of this research as the Thai society and the political processes occurring within it" (p 11).

The author carefully analyzes the statistics of elections in the country as a whole and in specific regions (the capital, the Central Valley, the Chao Phraya delta, the Chao Phraya lowland, the southeast, the southwest, central

Chao Phraya, the north, the northeast, Khorat, the lower Mekong and the upper Mekong, as well as the south and the far south bordering on Malaysia, which are united in the southern peninsular region). A. B. Zubov examines the evolution of voter support for various groups of parties in connection with the development of the "ecological foundation" of the region or province: population settlement patterns, the role of cities, the type of agricultural and industrial migration, the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the local economy (primarily, of course, agriculture, with rice farming as its most important element), its dependence on the external or internal market, changes in the public standard of living, the prevailing type of social relations, etc. In this way, the author revives the tradition of classical ecological analysis, which was widely practiced in Europe from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 1960's, when it virtually fell into disuse as a result of the abrupt decrease in the rural and agricultural population in Western countries, increased mobility in general and the declining importance of rural regions in politics. In the extremely heterogeneous but "intermixed" Western society of the second half of the 20th century, the role of the social environment as an attribute of the more or less homogeneous public has been reduced to a minimum. The unit of computation retaining internal homogeneity is, if not the individual, then at least a nuclear unit like the modern family, the production or creative team, the religious community, the deviant group, etc. As a result of this, some of the most important procedures in political sociology include the analysis of the hierarchy of factors (social, religious and economic) influencing the behavior of the individual or group, the study of the role of stereotypes in public opinion and of efforts made to support or undermine these stereotypes, etc.

The possibilities of ecological analysis are far from exhausted, however, as far as the East is concerned. As A. B. Zubov quite correctly notes, "as for the developing countries with their large and relatively static population groups, particularly with the peasantry absolutely dominating the social structure, here the ecological method of research is generally most suitable" (p 8).

As a result of this kind of analysis, the author was able to establish certain trends in the correlation between changes in the social environment and the dynamics of political views. A. B. Zubov conclusively demonstrates the influence of the migration of large population groups on the political outlook. In regions which became the object of intensive migration to rural areas, in the 1960's and 1970's there was a move away from the traditional conservatism characteristic of well-to-do agrarian communities--that is, the preference of groups related to power--to an opposition outlook, which generally was not of a radical nature. At the same time, the move to poor and underdeveloped provinces, where huge new areas were put to agricultural use as a result of technical innovations, led to the opposite results, reinforcing the conservatism prevailing in these regions at the beginning of the period in question.

Agrarian overpopulation, which is particularly characteristic of the lower Chao Phraya (the center) and the lower Mekong and Khorat (the northeast), has similar socioeconomic effects (emigration and the dispossession of land) in poor and rich regions. The political implications, however, are quite different

in the two kinds of regions. The well-to-do lower Chao Phraya, "despite acute agrarian hunger, has retained an almost invariably conservative outlook from election to election, while the particularly poor inhabitants of the Khorat and lower Mekong are inclined to take a leftist radical stand and to support the rebel movement when they experience an acute shortage of cultivable land" (p 221).

The author establishes the fact that value judgments depend largely on whether agriculture is geared to the domestic (national or regional) or foreign market. Agricultural export regions were distinguished by wealth and usually by extreme conservatism in the 1960's and 1970's. Regions and provinces geared to local economic centers or the capital, on the other hand, were more likely to express opposition views than regions geared to exports, although some of them had a per capita income as high as regions of export rice farming. All of these trends are traced quite consistently, and we can agree with the author that the question of whether the political views engendered by the Thais' socioeconomic status are reflected in the results of general elections can be answered in the affirmative.

A. B. Zubov draws a slightly less convincing conclusion that Thai urbanites are generally more likely to take the opposition than rural inhabitants, and that urban opposition is generally of the liberal-democratic type rather than radical. "Above all," the author writes, "this is attested to by the results of general elections in the capital. But the same processes were also apparent in other sizeable cities, even if only after long delays. In the 1970's stronger liberal-democratic feelings were characteristic of large cities in all parts of the country" (p 221).

It is true that all of the candidates representing the Democratic Party (Prachatiap)--the leading liberal-democratic opposition force, according to the author's definition--were victorious in Bangkok in 1957, 1969 and 1976. In 1975 the Prachatiap was defeated in only one of nine districts. For 20 years the population of the capital not only demonstrated a stable political outlook but also proved to be, according to the author, "highly politicized, according to Thai criteria" (p 93). The author associates this political activity with the fact that parliamentary deputies from Bangkok always represented parties with a full roster of nominees, and "all of the candidates of a single party always won the elections, with the exception of the 1957 election, when the Prachatiap did not offer a full roster, and in 1975 in Dusit district" (p 93).

The liberal-democratic opposition views of Bangkok were put in question, however, by the 1979 elections. In that year, as the author admits, "the inhabitants of the capital supported the candidates of a single party in the majority of districts. But whereas this was once the Prachatiap, in 1979 it was the Prachakon Tai" (a "neoconservative" party, according to A. B. Zubov--A. S.). "Given the passivity of four-fifths of the voters in the capital, the existence of a new trend in Bangkok political views can only be discussed with extreme wariness, but it is nevertheless significant that a new, neoconservative force in Thai politics won a victory precisely in the capital" (p 217).

Therefore, the only conclusion which is reliably confirmed by the data of election statistics throughout the 1957-1979 period is the one regarding the fairly unanimous voting of capital inhabitants, which is not aimed at supporting parties created to reinforce the regime or at adapting to the government within the framework of the status quo. The voters in Bangkok are in a chronic state of opposition, but this opposition, judging by all indications, can be expressed in quite diverse ideological forms, depending on the specific situation, and does not necessarily coincide with the established and recognized "liberal-democratic" position.

The thesis that the inhabitants of Bangkok are highly politicized also requires some clarification. They are politicized if politicization is defined as voting solidarity on the part of those who take the trouble to vote. Is this term applicable, however, in a situation in which, according to the author's own admission, "electoral absenteeism in Bangkok grew constantly from 1957 on, and the 1979 elections continued the long established trend of declining voter activity in the capital" (p 217)?⁴ The sharp and consistent decline in voter activity in the capital in comparison to nationwide activity is an interesting phenomenon, and it is noted but not explained in A. B. Zubov's book. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is precisely the inhabitants of the capital--that is, the part of the population that would seem to have undergone the greatest "modernization"--that have been least active in the political respect, while the active minority of voters in the capital are inclined to take a unified opposition stand, but also an ideologically unstable, reactionary stand.

In connection with this, an analysis of the main organized opposition force throughout the period in question--the Prachati Pat Party--warrants special consideration. This political structure, the history of its formation and development, its ideology and its election positions are discussed at length in the work. Furthermore, the very origins of the party political system in Thailand in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's, if it can be described in these terms, are examined in connection with the evolution of the Prachati Pat. This is quite understandable: It is precisely this "liberal" opposition party, and not the ephemeral pro-government groups (Seri Manangkasila, formed by the Pin Chunhavan and Pao Srianon clique before the February 1957 elections; Sahapoum, created by Sarit Tanarat before the December 1969 elections; Saha Pracha Tai, the party of Thanom Kittikachorn's oligarchy) or all of the different alternating leftist radical parties and groups (Settakon, Seri Prachati Pat, Neu Sangkom Niyom, Santichon, Neu Ruam Settakon, Neu Ruam Sangkom Niyom, Sangkom Niyom and others), that was the most stable element in Thai politics throughout the period in question, maintaining continuity in its leadership and, to some degree, in its ideology.

Created in August 1946 to support the group of Kuang Apaivong, fighting against the group of Pridi Pannomlong for power, the Prachati Pat remained the characteristic "political facade" of a patronized clique throughout the second half of the 1940's. This factional group "was turned into a nucleus of democratic opposition by the negative attitude of Kuang and his supporters toward the seizure of total power by the military in the 'silent coup' of 1951" (p 56).

Formed as an opposition force with no real opportunity to regain authority, the Prachatipat "remained the leading anti-governmental party for 25 years, coming to the fore at the beginning of each democratic period and each lifting of the ban on political activity" (p 48).

The Prachatipat and similar parties and groups (particularly the Palang Mai, formed in 1974) are generally established, as the author points out, by members of new social groups--intellectuals, representatives of free professions and people with a Western education. In the 1970's, as the working class and the lower stratum of civil servants grew stronger, the liberal-democratic opposition parties grew more radical. The "new groups" supporting the conservative-democratic Prachatipat in the 1940's and 1950's transferred their allegiances in part in the 1970's to the leftist Prachatipat faction of "moderate socialism" and to the new leftist party--Palang Mai.

In the electoral context, the author believes, liberal opposition parties relied on support in regions (the capital, the group of regions around Bangkok, and the south) where the traditional social environment was being undermined not by temporary factors (migration, the introduction of new cultures, etc.), but by the very logic of socioeconomic development (the establishment of large-scale industry, the birth of non-traditional social groups, qualitative changes in market demand, etc.). For this reason, A. B. Zubov concludes that liberal opposition parties reflect the contemporary features of the transitional Thai society and the political outlook of the non-traditional part of this society in the social, economic and geographic respects (p 225).

The theory that parties of this type are geared to regions undergoing particularly rapid changes is argued quite cogently in the work, and for this the author must be given a great deal of credit. Nevertheless, one question remains: Are they geared only to these regions? If liberal opposition is the acknowledged expression of the political views of the modernized segment of the Thai society, it would be logical to assume that it should enjoy fairly constant support in regions distinguished by these views--at least for short periods of time. The fact that it won 26.7 percent of the seats in the January 1975 elections and 40.7 percent in April 1976 is hardly evidence of this kind of constant support, just as the virtually unanimous refusal of Bangkok voters to support the Prachatipat in April 1979 and their support of the "neoconservative" Prachakon Tai show no evidence of this.

Parties like the Prachatipat are an indisputable attribute of the developing Eastern society undergoing "modernization," but they do not, judging by all indications, represent only the political views of the non-traditional segment of society. The environment of the megalopolis-capital (this is a particularly apt term in the case of Thailand, where one-eighth of the population lives in Bangkok), with thoroughly Westernized intellectuals and students, as well as part of the bureaucracy and the financial elite, indisputably constitutes a fairly influential opposition belt, willing to associate itself with liberal or conservative values, depending on the circumstances. This belt is actually "indestructible" and is capable of being revived after each more or less prolonged period of underground or semi-underground existence. This very indestructibility turns it into an extremely influential center of gravity for

all opposition forces, however diverse they might be, engendered as a result of conflicts of the traditional and "new" types.

Part of the energy generated by dissatisfaction takes the form of support for radical movements and groups which have no serious influence in the capital but are drawn, as the author clearly demonstrates, to regions with a lower level of socioeconomic development, while part of the energy nurtures the "liberal" opposition.

In other words, in contrast to the "classic" parties in Europe, which grow out of common, precisely delineated class interests, or out of specific religious and ideological values or, most frequently, out of a complex synthesis of the two, parties like the Prachatipat are more similar to movements, which can be analyzed in their development, in their dynamics, and not in a static state. They attract socially and spiritually diverse segments of society, united by their opposition to the existing regime--this is what makes them similar to "neo-traditional" movements in the West, such as populist movements and some others. In comparison to movements arising in societies which have progressed far along the path of fragmentation, the diversity of the elements making up these movements in the East is more distinct and more readily acknowledged: It is no coincidence that these parties undergo crises and schisms during the transition from opposition to power. This is what happened to the Prachatipat in 1973-1976 (pp 70-71). In contrast to their "distant relatives" in the West, these groups have a more stable ideological basis, which is retained even after the collapse of each successive movement--right up to the birth of a new one. The ideal of "pure and unadulterated democracy of the English type"--Kukrit Pramoj's definition (p 60)--is appealing enough to a certain segment of today's Eastern society to survive the debilitation and disintegration of the latest pseudo-liberal movement whose nature does not fit into the "modernization"--"traditionalism" dichotomy. The complex and contradictory life of the present-day Eastern society is reflected in syncretist movements of this type. Various segments of this society try to synthesize it, constantly losing control of what they have accomplished.

A. B. Zubov's work uncovers an extremely complex and interesting layer of the sociopolitical existence of one of the contemporary Eastern countries. This thoroughly substantiated work, evincing the talent of its writer, raises more questions than it answers, and this is one of the indications of its innovative nature.

FOOTNOTES

1. Two absolutely different questions are sometimes confused in literature:
 - 1) Is parliamentarianism (and, consequently, the electoral process) an "organic" feature of Eastern politics or is it a purely external, borrowed element with no influence on the actual value judgments of the population?
 - 2) Can election data serve as a reference source for sociological research? It is easy to see that elections can reflect some kind of objective picture of voters' views even when these views are imposed on them by the ruling elite.

2. This is a reference to the June 1932 coup, which put an end to absolute monarchy in the country and replaced it with a formal constitutional order.
3. In all, elections of this kind have been held five times in 22 years--in 1957, 1969, 1975, 1976 and 1979.
4. Only 19.5 percent of the registered voters in Bangkok voted in the 1979 elections, while the figure throughout Thailand was around 45 percent. Voter participation throughout the country ranged from 40 to 50 percent in 1957-1979.

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POLISH CATHOLIC WORK ON AFRICAN CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES FAVORABLY REVIEWED

[Editorial report] Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, January-February 1984 publishes on pages 192-195 a 2000-word A. Ya. Kakovkin review of "Christian Nubia" volume I, edited by S. Yakobel'skiy and B. Rostkovskaya. The book was published in 1982 by the Institute of Catholic Theology in Warsaw, Poland. It surveys the work of Polish archaeologists in studying Christian antiquities in Nubia. The review praises the "especially weighty contribution" of Polish scholars to this subject and calls the book a "unique result of the research of Polish scholars" and a "valuable publication."

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U.S. BOOK SEES SOVIET MIDEAST POLICY AS CONTINUING TSARIST EXPANSIONISM

[Editorial report] Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, January-February 1984 publishes on pages 196-198 a 1200-word V. A. Kremenyuk review of "Soviet Policy toward Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan" by Alvin Z. Rubinstein (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1982). Kremenyuk attacks Rubinstein for explaining Soviet Middle Eastern policy as "an elementary striving of a great power to strengthen its 'sphere of influence'" and for "striving to represent the USSR's policy toward neighboring Near and Middle Eastern countries as a simple continuation of Tsarist Russia's aggressive policy, which under Soviet power has taken on new forms but not changed its essence." He quotes Yu. V. Andropov: "Of course it is of some concern to us what happens in the countries along our southern border"; Kremenyuk then notes that this statement "obviously does not indicate any pretensions to interference in the affairs of neighboring states." He goes on to say that in fact it is the United States which has pursued an expansionist policy in the countries concerned.

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LIST OF MAIN SCHOLARLY WORKS BY DOCTOR OF ECONOMIC SCIENCES, PROFESSOR
R. A. UL'YANOVSKIY

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 84 (signed to press
1 Feb 84) pp 208-209

[List compiled by S. D. Miliband to commemorate 80th birthday of Professor
Rostislav Aleksandrovich Ul'yanovskiy, doctor of economic sciences and member
of the editorial board of NARODY AZII I AFRIKI*]

[Text] The editorial board and the editorial office staff
of NARODY AZII I AFRIKI offer their sincere and hearty
congratulations to a man who has been a member of the
editorial board since the day the magazine was founded,
renowned Soviet scholar of Oriental and African affairs,
doctor of economic sciences and professor, Rostislav
Aleksandrovich Ul'yanovskiy, on two important milestones
in his life--his 80th birthday and the 60th anniversary of
the start of his academic career and social activity.

The works of R. A. Ul'yanovskiy, including those published
in our magazine, and his diverse activity in science and
public life have won him deserved prestige and respect.
For many years Rostislav Aleksandrovich, as an active
member of the editorial board, has been providing constant
and valuable assistance in raising the ideological and
theoretical level of the journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI.

The editorial board and the staff of the editorial office
wholeheartedly wish Rostislav Aleksandrovich Ul'yanovskiy
good health and many years of productive work for the good
of Soviet Oriental and African studies.

"Socialism and the Liberated Countries," Berlin, VEB, Deutsche Verl. der
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WEG UND ZIEL, Vienna, 1973, No 1, pp 17-19 (in German).

* For lists of Ul'yanovskiy's works prior to 1973, see NARODY AZII I AFRIKI,
1964, No 2, pp 231-233; 1974, No 3, pp 219-220.

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"The Socioeconomic Problems of the Newly Independent Countries," ASIEN. AFRIKA. LATEINAMERIKA, Berlin, 1973, vol 1, No 1, pp 37-54 (in German).

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"The International Significance of the Experience in Resolving the Problem of Nationality in the USSR for the Newly Independent Countries," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1974, No 6, pp 5-20.

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"Asian Dilemma: The Essence of Social Progress in the Transitional Period," Moscow, Progress, 1975, 256 pages (in English); 2d ed, revised and supplemented, Moscow, 1976, 228 pages (co-authored by V. I. Pavlov), also published in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and Arabic.

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